WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE

THE MILITANT

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Soviet Joins The League Of Nations

On the eve of the 17th anniversary of the October Revolution the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, through the policy of Stalinism, has joined the League of Nations, receiving a Council seat and all the highest honors. Long before the formal announcement of the League's acceptance of the Soviets into its fold, Litvinoff was informed that a seat in this body was assured.

The minor opposition that developed to the entrance of the Soviets was easily brushed aside through the steamroller of the three leading imperialist powers of the League: France, England and Italy. In fact, these are the only remaining leading imperialist powers since the exit of Japan and Germany.

The invitation to the Soviets was signed by over thirty countries, with special formal invitations from the Scandinavian countries. These capitalist nations hail the entry of the Soviets in the League of Nation. The Stalinist press runs long apologies and at the same time defend it along the line laid down by Litvinoff's Text.

The Soviet's entrance in the League marks another step in the collaboration of France and the Soviets since Hitler's victory. The fact that Japan and Germany are outside of the League, and at present constitute the most direct threat of imperialist invasion of the Soviets is the axis upon which all Stalinist writers base their arguments for the entry into the League, the instrument of British and French imperialism. It has come to pass, of course unofficially, that the strategy of Litvinoff is the strategy of the Comintern. No matter which way Stalinism instructs Litvinoff to jump the Comintern must follow in his steps. Litvinoff scrapped the theory of "social-fascism" and the "united front from below" with a stroke of the pen in France and now his text on the Soviet's entry into the League, as the outcome of his circle of regional pacts around Germany, lays the basis for additional Comintern antics.

"Our attitude in principle to the League of Nations does not differ from our attitude to each and every individual state whether in or out of the League of Nations." (War and the Fourth International, p. 19.) The criticism of Stalinism on this move cannot be isolated from the chain of events that led up to it. Considered by itself, and in relation to the precarious position the Soviets are in, between Japan and Germany, it represents a compromise and a retreat. But considered in its relation to other events, as well as the Litvinoff statement, it is a disgrace to the revolutionary interests of the proletariat and to Marxism. One mistake leads to another.

The adoption of the theory of socialism in one country, led to the rejection of the theory of the permanent revolution and of internationalism and laid the basis for revolutionary defeats on three continents. The low point was in the bankruptcy of Stalinism and its collapse in the German revolution and the struggle against Fascism.

The mistake of yesterday in relation to the struggle against Fascism in Germany has forced the Soviet Union to take dangerous expedients in the diplomatic field, among them is the entrance of the Soviets into the League. The Stalinists will be obliged to take further steps in this direction of the present leadership persists. Since the German debacle, the agreement with the United States and the collapse of the Comintern, and because no revolutionary parties exist in the capitalist countries that surround the Soviets the Stalinists use the most opportunist and bourgeois methods of maneuvering among the imperialist powers. From the recognition of the Soviets by the United States to the Soviets entrance into the League a whole series of compromises and backward steps have been taken.

The Litvinoff statement and reply to the League of Nations, in part reads as follows: "The Soviet Government, which has made the organization and consolidation of peace the main task of its foreign policy and has never been deaf to proposals for international cooperation in the interest of peace, considers that, coming as it does from the overwhelming majority of these members of the League of Nations, **this invitation represents the real will toward peace of the League of Nations** and is in recognition of the of cooperation with the U.S.S.R., is willing to respond thereto, and become a member of the League of

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Fascism Dons White Hood As Klan Rides Again in South

Startling, alarming news has come from the South.

The Ku Klux Klan has been reborn and has entered the textile strike in "defense" of southern labor. It is not the same old decaying klan to which we are all accustomed, ranting against the Vatican, and warning of the dangers of Romanism and Papism, but a new regenerated movement, reported to have 100,000 new recruits throughout the south, with about one-third of its membership concentrated in "Chain-Gang" Georgia.

Dr. Hiram Evans, the exalted cyclop of the old Klan is chief of the new outfit, but he has forgotten all about prohibition and the pope. No, Dr. Evans is a man that keeps up with events and he knows when an issue is dead and should be buried. Besides, there is much bigger game in sight, these days for and enterprising individual. That is why he has united with M. O. Dunning of Savannah, Georgia, his "Chief of Staff" and together they are engaging in a great fight against the New Deal and the Communistic Brain Trust.

The Klux Brains

Dunning, former floor leader of Wm. G. McAdoo at Madison Square Garden in 1924, is reported to be one of the most talented organizers and promoters in the whole country. After McAdoo lost Dunning turned Republican, was rewarded with the Collectorship of the Port of Savannah, and with the prohibition coordinatorship of the South west. It is he who is reported to be the brains of the whole thing.

They are now building their war chests and are actively "organizing" the southern workers. They got into Griffin, Georgia, before the United Textile Workers had a chance, dragged the red herring across the town, warned all textile workers against foreign agitators who would destroy the sanctity of their homes, the church and the family and told them that the klan would fight their battles for them against the employers, not in the anarchist-bolshevik-Russian way but in the good old fashioned red-blooded American way. The superintenents of the mills advanced the money to the workers to pay their initiation fees to the Klan, which was to be deducted from the pay later on.

The Klan proclaims itself a friend of labor. "We are not against the conservative elements in the American Federation of Labor", one of the leaders explained, "We are the friend of labor. But the Klan will fight to a finish the radicals and the Communistic Brain Trust."

To prove that they are men of their word, Dunning had the Klan swing into line in many of the Labor Day parades of the United Textile Workers in the South, as in Columbus, Georgia, where some 12,000 textile workers are employed.

On Wednesday, just as the strike was gaining headway in the South, again Dunning pulled a master stroke to capture the southern working class. Before the union had a chance, the Klan called a strike at one of the mills at Griffin, and picketing was actually begun. The strike is reported to have been just a "fake" called with the connivance of the boss.

In any event, this was the signal for all of the organizers of the Klan to go among the workers on the picket lines and warn them that they would never get anywhere by following the union reds. The way to fight the bosses was to join the Klan and fight with the aid of God, the Constitution and the Star Spangled Banner, etc. etc.

When Dunning approaches the manufacturers, the line is altogether different. They outline to them the plan by which all unions will be crushed in the south, when wages will be set as low as they wish, the Klan will be in a position to start on a real crusade against the New Deal with the possible assistance of the American Liberty League.

The picture is sufficiently clear. With the South rising against the feudal industrialism of American capitalism, and unionization growing by leaps and bounds, the manufacturers are already subsidizing a patriotic, 100% full-blooded American fascist movement in preparation for the decisive struggles to come.

The conclusion is clear. Fascism while still weak, has "a big future ahead of it" in America. The American working class must now begin the preparation for a struggle against it, by organizing mighty united fronts and sweeping behind them the bulk of the American working class.

Miners to Be Buried Alive

If you were never buried alive don't become discouraged; your chance may come yet. The above comes to us on good authority. The American Mining Congress.

A meeting held last Wednesday of these most outstanding mining engineers of the country sounded a note of warning that is best summed up by the above phrase. They showed that the safety of the thousands of men working underground is being jeopardized by curtailment of Federal efforts to protect the miners from accident. Because of the economy program of the government, the authorities have seen fit to cut down on the appropriations usually alloted for maintaining an emergency rescue squad to be used to combat disaster. The congress said that a survey by a special committee showed that whereas formerly the Bureau of Mines had eleven rescue cars in operation, today only two such cars remain.

Furthermore, the decrease in the bureau's funds for research purposes has almost stopped work along this line completely. The appropriations for the current fiscal year have been the lowest since 1920. This course means the complete stopping of all work in the training given to miners to help themselves and others when the walls begin to tumble down upon them. The experimental mines developed by the Mine Bureau as a means of studying explosions has been practically shut down.

The congress of mine engineers ended with a call upon the federal government to resume its work along these lines.

What this meeting failed to see was a direct connection between the building of more battleships and the cut in the appropriations to save workers lives. Research has been cut down to almost nothing where it concerns the life of miserably underpaid coal diggers, but in the field of war preparations there has been no cut whatsoever. The problems to be solved along the again.

Pocketbook Makers Out

BULLETIN

As we go to press over 4,000 pocket book workers went out in a general strike. Within a few days it is expected the strike will assume national proportions. Already many employers have called the union and asked for individual settlements.

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After the resignation of the so-called legal adviser, Wolinsky, the Joint Council of the Pocketbook Workers Union elected a Conference Committee to negotiate an agreement with the Industrial Council of the Leather Goods Manufacturers Association. The Committee had several conferences with the bosses and they came to an understanding that the new agreement should provide 37½ hours a week, a 5% increase in wages beginning February 1935, and the employment from the ranks of the unemployed pocketbook workers equal to five percent of the workers employed in each shop. This last was only a verbal promise by the bosses.

This agreement was recommended by the Joint Council to the union membership meeting which took place at Stuyvesant High School, September 7. The meeting was packed by two thousand pocketbook workers although it was Friday night. When Secretary Levine read the recommendations of the Joint Council the membership was thrown into turmoil. A heated discussion took place in which the anti-Wol-

(Continued on Page 2)

line of taking life come in so fast and furious that many have been "let out" to the big research laboratories of the General Electric, Radio Corporation, Bell Laboratories, etc.

If you are a poor working stiff, the government will pinch every penny to keep you from being buried alive. If you manage to keep yourself alive, they will draft you into the army, and then the government will spend millions on how to get you blown up so high in the air that you never come down

Marine Union Appeals for Strike Here

The District Committee of the International Seamen's Union of the International Seamen's Union of America yesterday set October 8 as the deadline for a general strike on all merchant ships operating along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts. The walkout will involve 40,000 unlicensed seamen.

Pledge cards, pouring in from all locals of the union, indicated unanimous sentiment in favor of the strike. "Conditions at sea today are so bad that a respectable American seaman would rather survive on a bowl of soup in the street than accept the conditions imposed upon him", said Patrick J. Keane, representative of the union to the Trades and Labor Council of Greater Yew York.

While living costs of the families of seamen have increased, officials of the union said, the number of men employed on ships have been decreased about 25%, and wages have been slashed 50%.

Following the Federal government's stubborn indifference to the demands of the union a resolution was passed that "The District Committee of the Atlantic District of the International Seamen's Union of America does hereby decide to issue a strike call effective Monday, October 8, 1934 to enforce the wage rates and working conditions as submitted to ship owners by the National Labor Board and the NRA."

Widespread abuses in the industry have combined to bring the issue to a head. The following wage scale submitted last year to the NRA committee on the shipipng code was rejected by President Roosevelt under pressure from foreign shipping interests: Able Seamen $75, carpenters $80, firemen $75, oilers $80, water tenders $80. The vicious job racketeering system was also revealed. Job agencies along the waterfront, recognized by the ship owners, give employment to inexperienced seamen, willing to work for lower wages and to pay more for the privilege of getting a job. Thousands of capable, experienced seamen, consequently have been discharged.

The Morro Castle disaster also gave an impetus to the rapidly mounting strike sentiment when it was disclosed that there weren't enough men on board to insure proper inspection.

The union demands that the government act to regulate the hiring of seamen, force the shipping lines to adopt the proposed wage scale, and increase the number of men employed at sea.

Babes Born With Gun in their Mouth

Children at the age of 8 years are to be trained by the Italian Fascist butchers for military service.

At this tender age, the children are to be pressed into service in the Fascist Balilla organization, which will train them until they reach the age of 14 years. There they will learn the delights of war through "frequent contacts with the armed forces of the nation, whose glories and traditions will be taught to them."

Thus does the "totalitarian state" spring one step nearer to its ultimate objective: Every citizen a soldier from the cradle to the early grave.

The next step in the program will, undoubtedly, be extended to swaddled infants, who will be taught to remove their gas masks before suckling; who will learn to gurgle "sinistra! destra!" as their first words, instead of Mamma and Papa.

They must learn to march before they learn to walk. All toys, by edict of Il Duce, must henceforth be of military character. They will cut their teeth on toy cannons, they will pedal imitation armored tanks.

A pre-natal course is also under consideration, in which the prospective mother will be alternately wooed by military music, or frightened by the roar of cannon. In the hope that warriors may spring, fully armed, from the womb.

It is a sickening farce that is being played by Mussolini, a frightful exposure of the true aims of the "totalitarian state", which has only one subject: War!

But Mussolini dreams too far ahead. Long before his 8-year-old battalions are ready to be delivered to slaughter, he and his Fascist murderers will be remembered only as a hideous nightmare, a ghastly but brief episode in world history.

Proposals of the Roosevelt Board Would Continue Present Coolie Conditions in the Textile Industry

20,000 Dyers Get Strike Call This Monday

BULLETIN

* * *

The A.F.S.W. local in Paterson has sent a telegram to the National Strike Committee in Washington demanding that the dyeworkers be called out immediately. This belated action on the part of the Associated officialdom was directly due to the pressure from the dyers themselves, and the silk workers already on strike. Gorman has alrtady issued a statement to the press that dyers would be among those called out nationally Monday, Sept. 25. Failure of the Associated officialdom to take more decisive steps would indicate that its latest action is merely an attempt to pass the buck and thus evade the responsibility. The mood of the workers in Pattrson is such that one can say with assurance that order or no order, injunction or no injunction—the dyeworkers will come out next week; and with them also the throwsters.

(See Page 2 for Other Details)

Georgia Brings Hitler Methods to The United States

"Germany is decades ahead of the rest of the world"—in torture chambers, barbarism and concentration camps.

Alfred Rosenberg. Hitler's mouthpiece, bragged aloud of these achievements. But that was before the textile strike and before Georgia said "You've got nothing on us."

Not at all outdone by Thyssen's stooge, Georgia has imported the latest 1934 model of Nazi concentration camp and flung more than 140 strikers into it.

The German papers, says a dispatch in the N. Y. **Times,** are hailing President Roosevelt as the "Nazi Fuehrer of America", gloating that he has taken another leaf out of the Nazi book and thereby sanctioning Nazi practises by imitation.

This is not exactly correct, however. For the state of Georgia, which "leads" the rest of the world in the "art" of chain gangs and the sport of lynching has added another improvement to its concentration camp. In Germany concentration camps are made out of deserted factories, abandoned warehouses or unused prisons. In Georgia, workers who want a better living and are prepared to fight for it, are quartered right out in the open where they can broil in the sun, shiver in the rain and wind and take care of their human needs with less conveniences than any plug-horse has in his stable.

While the Nazis "are greatly exagerating the death" of American democracy, it must be said that democracy has taken a new turn in these United States. The imprisoned strikers are held without charges "strictly as military prisoners", until the strike "emergency" is over.

These strikers, held in the concentration camp because they wanted to picket a mill, are prisoners, true enough, prisoners of the class war. But General Camp is overshooting his mark when he says that these unarmed men, taken in battle with troops carrying machine guns, tear gas and bayonets, are "military prisoners".

He is anticipating the day when that term will really apply. And then there will be "military prisoners" not only on the side of the strikers who will be not quite so defenseless as they are now.

CRIPPLES MEET

The International Association of War Cripples and War Veterans is now in session in Geneva. At the time when the world drives headlong into a new world war their mute protest will have little or no effect. Capitalism is not interested in life or limb but in profits. If it has its own way about things all of humanity will be eligible for the Cripples Congress except for those who are pushing up daisies.

What Price Strike-Breaking?

Millions to break a strike; not one cent for wages!

Workers in the textile industry are paid $3 and $4 a week, men with families are forced to live on from $6 to $12 a week. This is all the impoverished mill owners can afford to pay. General Johnson's heart bleeds for George Sloan. The wails of the bosses reach to Heaven. As God is their judge, that is all they can pay.

But suddenly, when the textile strike is called, these same bosses find thmselves possessed of inexhaustible funds, of millions of dollars, for strike-breaking purposes.

Here are some of the wages paid out by the Caroleen mill of Caroleen, N. C., wages that are fairly representative of those paid throughout the Southern textile industry.

"American" Wages

Speeder tender, four in family, $8.65 for 24 hours work; loom cleaner, $7.20; weaver, $8.40; quill skinner, $7.20; card room operator, $7.20, etc., etc. Full time 40 hour work paid 314.40 for the speeder tender, and $12.00 a week for the rest.

These amounts were not all paid in cash. The commissary and company housing in most instances took all of the pay-check, and wanted more. One head of a family who earned $10 did not receive a single cent in cash.

Money, ready cash, millions of dollars, flow like water however, when the pockets of scab operators, special deputies, armed thugs and State and County officials charged with breaking the strike. The bosses are not so poor that they cannot hire thousands of highly paid gangsters, a veritable army.

The cost of breaking the strike, if it could be computed, would reach a staggering total; more than enough to guarantee the workers extra wages and shorter hours for years. Each deputy earns triple the amount paid the workers, and there are many deputies; almost as many as mill hands. Each scab has to be guarded, fed, paid extra, and in other ways provided for.

Cost of ammunition, tear gas, and other armaments in the war against labor could buy food, shelter and adequate clothing for thousands of ill-fed, half-naked workers' children.

But lest the cost of strike-breaking prove too great a drain on the bosses' treasury—and there is no indication that the bosses' treasury is exhausted—the State and Federal governments have rushed to their aid with unlimited troops and ammunition.

There are 11,000 troops on strike duty whose wages and subsistence cost eight states $37,000 a day. This is irrespective of the cost of tear and nausea gas, ammunition, etc. Double pay, $2 a day, or more than a hard working weaver can earn on full time, is paid to guardsmen on special duty. Rhode Island has so far spent over $6,000 for tear and nausea gas alone.

Meanwhile, these same states, willing to spend close to $50,000 a day to break the textile strike, are seriously challenging the right of starving strikers and their families to a relief pittance.

With disgusting hypocrisy, the Federal relief authorities promise aid to the distressed, whether on strike or not, but leave the distribution of this relief in the hands of violently biased county officials, under the thumb, and often in the pay of the mill owners.

And at the same time, the State governments give without stint to help the mill owners break the strike. Nearly $50,000 a day for strike-breaking troops. Can the relief figures approximate this?

Is one-tenth of this amount or one-hundredth being spent to feed the starving mill-workers?

John F O'Hyan has resigned from the post of police commissioner of N.Y.C.Chief Inspector Valentine is to take his place. Valentine, if we recall correctly, is the flatfoot who personally directs the slugging of strikers and unemployed. The change is from tweedledum to tweedledee.

Relief is Vital For Victory in Strike Battle

President Roosevelt has personally intervened in the textile strike with pressure for a settlement—but not until the list of martyrs had mounted to thirteen, not until 11,000 troops shot, bayonneted and gassed strikers in a half a dozen states, not until concentration camps in Fascist style were set up in Georgia, not until one of the most drastic anti-labor injunctions was handed down in Paterson.

He let all that go by without batting an eyelash, hopeful that it would smash the strike and save him the trouble of directly having to give the strikers the "raw deal".

Unfortunately for Mr. Roosevelt and for Hooie ("my-heart-bleeds-for-Sloan") Johnson their expectations have been blasted. Not all the thugs in the country, not all the troops in the garrisons have been able to dam up the river of militancy that has been overflowing since Labor Day.

Dye Workers' Strike Call

Reports are at hand that despite the injunction the dye workers of Paterson and vicinity will be called out on Monday. Further statements from union officials say other tens of thousands will be asked to strike in affiliated textile industries.

Everywhere new mills are closing down and everywhere the battle lines are holding firm. It is becoming universally recognized that the optimistic statement of George Sloan are just whistling to keep up courage.

Roosevelt's mediation board has returned to him with a proposal to arbitrate the strike. It smells strongly of the betrayals of steel and automobiles. It offers labor nothing but ambiguous promises—the kind that working men have been choking on since the beginning of the New Deal. It permits capital to resume the operation of the mills and the coining of profits on the old basis pending further "investigation".

Winant's Proposals

Summarized the proposals of the President's Inquiry Board are as follows:

1) Recommendation to the union that the strike be called off.

2) Recommendation that employers reinstate strikers without discrimination.

3) Declaration that national settlement is not feasible and advice to workers to accept local mill agreements.

4) Appointment of a board similar to the Steel Labor Board to enforce code provisions.

5) Request that the Federal Trade Commission investigate wages.

6) Appointment of a committee to investigate the stretch-out.

7) Request that the Department of Labor investigate wage conditions and make investigations known to workers and bosses.

A Good Example of the Run-Around

This, says Roosevelt, "is a good example of the practical way in which industrial problems can be calmly discussed and solved under a republican form of government".

This, Mr. Roosevelt, is the best expression of your National Run Around, the classic way of tricking workers out of victory when it is within reach.

What is offered the strikers? The union demands call for the 30-hour week with the same wages as received for 40 hours. The board offers them an investigation committee to make inquiries.

The union asks for the establishment of a maximum work load for operations in the various divisions of the textle ndustry. The board offers them a research committee which will look into the matter.

The union asks for recognition of the United Textile Workers on a national scale. The board tells them it isn't "feasible" and tells them to go to the individual bosses and get whatever recognition they can. Or, in other words, it is perfectly alright for the bosses to act nationally but the union must break its fighting instrument into thousands of ineffective weapons.

The union wants the reinstatement of all workers fired for organizing under section 7-a. The board offers them a set-up like the Steel Labor Relations Board.

(Continued on Page 4)

REVIEWING THE NEWS

Strike Contrasts

The forthright, fighting spirit and actions of the textile workers. The cowardly, crawling statements of Green, Woll, et al. The hypocritical lies of Sloan and Co. The slimy utterances of NRA officials.

* * *

The Battle Line

The miserably underpaid men and women of the mills against the textile owners and their state machine from President Roosevelt down to the last deputized thug.

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Capitalist Press Definitions

"Hoodlums"—Workers, who have the courage, in the battle against starvation, to pit their bodies against the armed thugs of the mills and the bayonets and machine guns and gas of the National Guard.

"Patriots"—Any and all strike-breakers.

"Sane Labor Leaders" — Any grafting labor skate who is ready to sabotage a militant strike for a price.

"Alien Communist Agitator" — Any worker who speaks for labor solidarity and practises what he preaches.

"Minute Men of '34" — Weasel brained morons or reactionary cockroach business men who can be bribed or scared into shooting or clubbing strikers when they know they have the support of the armed police and the National Guard.

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Flying Squadrons

In courage, in readiness to battle against the powerfully armed forces of reaction, the Flying Squadrons of the mill workers are the ones who can be compared with the "Minute Men of '76".

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General Hooie Johnson

The windbag Johnson, like the steel industry has reached a new low. The picture of the Falstaff of the NRA weeping for the sufferings of Sloan would go well in a burlesque show.

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Hot News

One hundred and fifty leading industrialists met in Hot Springs, West Virginia. Geo. Houston of the Baldwin Locomotive Works had a plan. They adopted it. The plan calls for: (1) Monopolistic Cartels, (2) All social legislation to be scotched, (3) Hours extended (4) Wages reduced.

* * *

Generous America

Herbert Corwin was sentenced to ten years for attempted burglary. He served six years and was paroled. Last week, desperate and destitute, he appealed to the police to send him back to Sing Sing or he'd have to steal to live. Dr. Joseph Moore of the Parole Board said: "The fact that he might be about to commit a crime was sufficient ground to recommit him." . . . "Are you better off now than a year ago?" asks the President. "No," answers Corwin, "last year I was in Sing Sing." Possibly Moore's idea could be extended. Inasmuch as unemployment drives men to crime, it might be arranged to give a ticket to Sing Sing with each discharge slip. A very fitting addition to the New Deal or Epic plan.

* * *

"The Hatred of Communists"

Judging by the capitalist press, one would think that the favorite sport of 99.9 percent of the population of California was hunting Communists and other radicals. That's how the press read during and since the general strike. Now, when they soberly weigh the chances of the leading red-baiter, Governor Merriam, the situation looks a little different. Says the N. Y. **Times**—"There is evidence that the reaction is not against radicalism so much as against the Vigilantes." The "great public opinion which is inflamed against Communists" generally simmers down to big business, their paid press, and groups of drunken morons with American Legion badges and Matthew Woll.

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Liberal "Spirit" Again

Discussing the "boycott" of Germany in the **Nation,** Oswald Garrison Villard says—"Of course it would be a great deal better if the boycott could be restricted to the spiritual field." Reminds me of the Quaker bride who always waited till the spirit moved her. The answer of the impatient groom is also suitable for Oswald Garrison Villard.

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Yachts and Scabs

The great sportsmanship of English yachtsmen has been the theme of scribblers on both sides of the Atlantic for years. The crew of the Endeavor shows that scabbery is another one of their qualities not only in industry but also in their favorite sport. —BILL.

BROWNSVILLE MEETING

Will the Breakdown of the NRA Lead to Revolution?

Speaker:

HUGO OEHLER

FRIDAY, SEPT. 28, at 8 P.M.

Spartacus Youth Hall

1776 Pitkin Avenue, Brooklyn

Money Still Needed

The financial crisis of the **Militant** has not been liquidated. It cannot be liquidated, except by a regular weekly income. This income must come from three sources:

1. Pledgers who remit unfailingly.
2. Bundle order payments.
3. New subscriptions and renewals.

No periodical is self-sustaining. The capitalist press depends on advertising. The revolutionary press depends on special donations. These donations must be systematized if the paper is not to be thrown into recurring financial crises. The Pledge Fund was started with this idea in mind. But the response has not been sufficient to take care of the weekly deficit, nor have the pledgers remitted regularly.

We appeal to all our members and sympathizers who can possibly do so to pledge a definite monthly sum for a period of three months.

We appeal to our branches to pay up on their bundle orders and to make efforts to increase the circulation.

We appeal to all our readers to subscribe and to get others to subscribe.

We appeal to all our subscribers to watch their expiration number on the wrapper and to renew without delay.

If the Pledge Fund can be raised to $100 monthly; if the bundle payments are promptly paid; if the subscription list is increased at the rate of 25 weekly, we can assure a bigger and better **Militant,** published without convulsions and mailed earlier in the week.

That the **Militant** is serving a historic need for the labor movement is indicated by the many comments we get in the mails. Here is an example from a Socialist from a mid-west city:

"Dear Sirs:

"A dollar for the **Militant,** in response to your call for help). Wish I could send more. Would be disappointed greatly to miss even one issue.

"I am a member of the Socialist Party of the R.P.C. (Revolutionary Policy Committee). Personally I have no illusions concerning it. A few of us here are trying to intelligently decide where to go. We are very much impressed by and indebted to the **Militant** and the **New International.**

"We sincerely hope the crisis in the **Militant** will be immediately overcome. —M."

The following comrades made the last two issues possible:

S. Kaufman, Bronx	$ .50
A Friend, Youngstown	8.00
South Side Branch, Chicago Local	10.00
A. Shambon, W. Haven	1.00
George Cooper, N. Y.	2.00
Voss, Davenport, Ia.	1.00
Waukegan Branch	6.00
Cleveland Branch	1.00
A Socialist	1.00
Harry King, N. Y. C.	4.00
Katz, Montreal	1.00
B. Rabinowitz, N. Y.	2.00
M. M., The Bronx	2.00
M. O. Stont, Philadelphia	1.00
Jewish Writer	1.00
Militant House Party given by Sympathizers	15.30

The following helped by paying up on their regular monthly pledges:

P. Miller, N. Y.; M. Spithos, N. Y.; E. Konikow, N. Y.; J. G. Wright,; and a Harvard Student.

HELP STABILIZE THE INCOME. PLEDGE TODAY AND REMIT REGULARLY.

THE PLEDGERS

Those who cannot continue, please notify the Militant office to take your name off this list.

New York Local
Downtown Branch
(All Monthly)

Paul King	$1.00
E. Konikow	1.00
F. Victor	2.00
M. Spithos	1.00
J. G. Wright	2.00
S. Gordon	2.00
F. Becker	2.00
M. Kling	2.00
S. Bleeker	2.00
I. Glade	1.00
L. Lewis	1.00
D. Morris	1.00
C. Nelson	1.00
J. Weber	2.00
John Becker	1.00
Bronx Branch	
S. Egstadt	1.00
M. Lifshitz	1.00
S. Eidensohn	1.00
Boro Park Branch	
A. McAbe	1.00
Ann Toven	1.00
Harlem Branch	
T. Smith	2.00
Jerry Marsh	1.00
E. Beecher	.50
Cochran	.50
Colay	.50
Gonzales	.50
Janos	.50
L. Barry	.50
Ellis	.50
Walter	.50
Brode	.50
Boston Branch	
E. Wiener	.50
C. Schechet	.50
W. Henderson	.50
J. Chiplowitz	.50
Newark Branch	
Lambert	1.00
G. Katz	1.00
L. Nagy	.50
A Clerk	.50
A Sympathizer	.50
A Social Worker	1.00
Others	
John Delaney (seaman)	.50
M. M., Bronx	2.00
Geo. Cooper, Manhattan	1.00
S. Moroff, Manhattan	1.00
The Geltmans, Manhattan	1.00
L. Haidous, Manhattan	1.00
Cornelis, Manhattan	1.00
E. J. Cornwit, Manhattan	.50
E. E. C., Manhattan	1.00
E. Alby, Bronx	1.00
Pauline Miller, Bronx	1.00
City Subway Worker, B'klyn.	1.00
Edith Sher, Bronx	1.00
A Friend, Youngstown	2.00
A. Wolfe, New Haven	1.00
A Harvard Student	1.00
Monthly Total	**$58.00**

IN THE TRADE UNIONS

Pocketbook Workers On Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

insky group bitterly assailed the agreement. Lubliner spoke for the agreement but the membership didn't want to listen to him. It took half an hour to restore order. Then the "dummy" manager, Stein, began to speak for the agreement and the membership likewise refused to listen to him. He continued to speak, hoping to exasperate the workers opposed to the agreement and drive them out of the hall in order to get a majority vote for the agreement. In spite of the fact that it was Friday night a majority of the workers stayed on and yelled for a vote to be taken. Finally the chairman was forced to take a vote. When the vote was taken only 72 were for the agreement and 1,292 against.

Since the old agreement expired in May the Joint Council went on record to demand from the employers a 35-hour week, a 20% increase in wages, and many other demands. But the administration instead of negotiating an agreement got busy and brought back the notorious agent of the bosses, Wolinsky. When Wolinsky came back to the union he forced the Joint Council to withdraw the 35-hour demand and make it 36. He also forced to reduce the demand for a 20% increase in wages to 10%. Wolinsky and the Fraternal Club administration were busy in Washington fooling around for months with the NRA instead of preparing the workers for struggle for a new agreement. Finally the workers, realizing that nothing would come of this, organized and kicked Wolinsky out.

Bosses Refuse Committee Demands

In order to carry through the wishes of the meeting of September 7, the Joint Council met and elected a new Conference Committee. This Committee is anti-Wolinsky and anti-administration. A conference with the bosses was arranged in another attempt to draw up an agreement. The Conference Committee told the bosses plainly: either 36 hours a week and 10% increase in wages or a strike. The bosses told the Committee that the manager, Stein, had said that there would be no strike this time. The bosses refused to grant the demands of the Conference Committee.

The Conference Committee thereupon called a meeting of the union for Monday, September 17 to discuss the question of the strike. At the same time six members of the administration resigned because of their opposition to the Conference Committee. At the membership meeting there were three things to be discussed: the strike, the resignation of the six, and whether the Conference Committee and the strike committee should lead the strike. The workers voted unanimously and enthusiastically for the strike. The resignation of the six was accepted by a vote of 1,200 workers against 2. Manager Stein, one of the six, made a demagogic speech and urged the membership to elect a man to take his place immediately and lead the strike or he would remain as manager in order not to desert the workers. Dave Wax, a Wolinsky henchman, urged the union to bring back Wolinsky to lead the strike. He was greeted with cries of 'N'o! No!" The anti-Wolinsky group, Diamond, Matlin and many others spoke against it and showed that Wolinsky is an agent of the bosses. A vote was taken after a heated discussion. By a vote of 564 to 498 the workers decided to put the leadership of the strike in the hands of the Conference and Strike Committees.

Tasks of Strike

In order to win the strike it is necessary that the best elements be drawn into responsible posts. Mass picketing and mass demonstrations should be organized. It should be the aim of the union to shut down the entire industry in the first few days of the strike. The Conference Committee should demand from the bosses that the agreement include a provision to reduce hours to 35 a week in the near future to absorb more of the unemployed. Provision should also be made for future upward revision of wages in view of the recent 40% cuts and the rising cost of living. Although the impartial chairman, Dr. Moskowitz, a great humanitarian, "friend" of the Soviet Union, who has been instrumental in bringing the union and bosses together in conferences, said that the industry cannot afford to increase wages at the present time, the bosses have raised the prices on pocketbooks and have increased their sales. Why doesn't the impartial chairman publish the figures or arrange to let a committee from the union examine the books of the bosses? If we saw the figures we would see that the starvation wages of the last few years made profits for these bosses, especially for the last year. Now with improved business it is time that the workers stop taking it on the chin.

The Conference Committee should be on guard against the impartial chairman. In the past the impartial machinery has served the bosses ninety percent.

With unity and militant action the pocketbook workers can win their strike.

—POCKETBOOK WORKER.

Upholsterers in Critical Situation

The third week of the upholsterers general strike conducted by Local 76, A. F. of L. finds the upholsterers faced with a situation which mght result in the organizational dissolution of the union unless drastic measures are taken immediately.

Although about 15 shops which employ about 150 to 200 men have already settled, 85 percent of the industry still remains unorganized in New York City. Practically nothing has been done about striking the open shops with the result that several of the former union shops cannot be brought to a settlement.

No daily strike meetings are being held and mass picketing is taboo. These policies of the officialdom have led to the demoralization of the strikers' ranks.

While many unions in other industries have conducted strikes of a militant character, this is far from true in the upholsterers union nor is any improvement promised.

If the officials in charge of this strike do not make an about-face and present an organized plan of action to include mass picketing, the defeat of the upholsterers is imminent.

Much valuable time has been lost but it is not yet too late so long as there is some talk of strike. If this situation continues, the future of Local 76 will be an unstable one and the task of rebuilding it will fall on people with strong shoulders.

The task of the moment requires that every upholsterer looks to the safety of his union. Its very existence is being threatened by a crew of incompetents. Measures must be immediately taken to bring a degree of victory out of the difficult situation created by the leadership.

Paterson Group Calls For Violation of Injunction

Paterson, Sept. 19.—Stormy resentment is sweeping through the ranks of the dye workers in Paterson over the Chancery Court injunction restraining the Dyers from even "talking strike". The sentiment for an immediate strike is manifest and overwhelming. But the Local officials of the dyers are stalling. They have announced that sometime this week they plan to call a mass meeting for the purpose of "discussing the injunction". While the officialdom of the Dyers' Local 1,733, U.T.W. is stalling off immediate action, hoping against hope to somehow sidetrack the irresistible urge of the dye workers to join in the general strike, the officials of the Associated with Eli Keller at the head are not even going through the gestures of exerting pressure to force the issue.

Injunction Is Gallows Noose

Yet to allow the dye plants to keep operating is to place the noose around the necks of the silk workers now on strike. Every silk worker in Paterson understands this.

While in other states the attempt is being made to beat down the resistance of the workers by thugs and bayonets, the New Jersey bosses for the moment are resorting to the club of the law.

The United Silk Workers Club has taken the lead in sounding the alarm against the passivity with which the strike leadership has thus far accepted the injunction.

"Smash Injunction"

The current issue of the **Silk Shuttle,** organ of the United Silk Workers Club, advances in its leading article the slogan: "SMASH THE INJUNCTION — STRIKE!" After pointing out that "working hand in hand with the bosses, the judges are seeking to chain the dyers to their vats", the **Shuttle** insists that "there are not enough jails in New Jersey to hold the thousands of dyers who have no other course than to join the general strike. That is their duty."

The **Shuttle** advances among its demands that the officialdom of the Associated take the lead in the fight against the injunction by calling upon the dye workers to strike and reinforce their indignation by throwing mass picket lines around every dye plant in New Jersey. There is more than a justification for the contention of the United Silk Workers Club that "the injunction against the dye workers is an injunction against the general strike." Failure to fight to the finish this legalistic attempt to break the strike will prove disastrous. Behind the injunction stand the bristling bayonets of the National Guard. The injunction provides the broadest of avenues to strike-breakers.

Protest to Judge

Taking the lead in the fight against the injunction the United Silk Workers Club has sent the following letter to Egan, the Jersey Chancery judge who issued the injunction:

"On behalf of the united Silk Workers Club of Paterson, New Jersey, we are enclosing herewith a copy of the current issue of the **Silk Shuttle** in order to show you the position of the Club on your vicious anti-labor injunction and our determination to do everything in our power to smash the same.

"The workers of Paterson will tear this injunction to pieces.

"Yours truly,

"F. GIORDANO, Secretary"

American labor is beginning to find its voice.

The lessons of Minneapolis and Toledo are being quickly absorbed and applied by the textile workers.

American textile workers are adding glorious pages of militancy, self-sacrifice, solidarity and devotion to the history of the American labor movement. Out of the great textile strike, the American working class will come out a head taller; in the heat of the struggle it will forge its left wing cadres. And the Paterson workers will unquestionably not only carry on the militant traditions of their past struggles but take the lead in the regeneration of a genuine left wing for the textile industry.

The activity of the U.S.W.C. gives every promise that this regeneration will proceed very rapidly in the silk industry.

Drug Clerks Prepare General Strike

A general strike of all drug clerks in the Bronx and elsewhere in Greater New York threatens as a mass meeting called by the Pharmacists' Union overwhelmingly rejected the "starvation offer" of the boss pharmacists, and moved for a strike call.

The union plans to concentrate its forces in the Bronx where it is best organized. Altogether the newly formed union has enrolled some 1,600 members, and believes others will join when they see the union means business.

The demands of the union are for a 54-hour week with a minimum $35 weekly salary. They also call for abolition of the split shift and recognition of the union.

At a meeting with the Pharmaceutical Conference, an employers' organization, the bosses had the impudence to suggest a $20 a week minimum with a 60-hour week. And even on this cut-throat offer, there was hedging, the Conference promising only to recommend these terms to its membership.

The drug clerks form one of the most exploited branches of labor in the whole nation. The hours run from 75 to 80 hours a week, and the wages fom $15 to $25—this for highly trained, experienced and licensed employes. The split shift keeps the drug clerk tied to the shop from early morning until closing time at night; with only a few hours of freedom during the afternoon. So-called part time employment is particularly vicious in the trade, meaning usually a 40 to 50 hour week at $10 and $15 wages.

We call upon all friends of labor to support the Pharmacists Union in its struggles, and in the event of strike to stay away from scab shops. The Pharmacists Union deserves your fullest aid and support.

FALL FESTIVAL

Entertainment and Dance Band

SATURDAY EVENING, SEPT. 29

144 Second Avenue, N. Y. C.

Admission 15c

Auspices: Communist League and Spartacus Youth Club Downtown Downtown Branch

THE MILITANT

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EDITORIAL BOARD

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Bundle rates one cent per copy.

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"Thou Shalt Not Kill"

THOU SHALT NOT KILL—for less than $25,000 per head. Some crazy statistician once, for lack of something else to do, calculated that the above approximated the amount spent by the various belligerent powers to have someone killed between the years 1914-1918.

It is reported that at the height of the Capone movement during the prohibition era, the price for rubbing someone out reached an all time low of $150. Would that make the Capone organization 165 times more efficient than the various federal governments? It would—except for the profits; and who ever heard of a war without PROFITS?

Talking about profits, God didn't neglect the E. I. DuPont de Nemours Co., makers of gunpowder and poison gases.

As each of the mothers of the ten million who were killed during the war was receiving her "gold star" (made of paper), the DuPont company stockholders were receiving extra dividends. Orders which went to the company during the years 1915-1918 totaled $1,245,000, while the total dividends paid during those years reached the fabulous sum of 458 percent of the par value of the original stock. The stock itself increased in value a total of 374 percent. Translated so that it means something to you—if instead of going to France to become one of the ten million, you were able to stay in this country, and invested $100 in DuPont stock at the outbreak of the war, your total profits on the $100 would have been $832.

Capone Can't Take It

This is only part of what this week's investigation into the arms racket brought out. Compared to these munitions makers Al Capone was a cheap piker. Whenever he understood to bump somebody off it never occurred to him to, at the same time, aproach the victim and offer to protect him. A bump-off was a bump-off, and no fanagling.

Not so with these respectable citizen munition manufacturers. They would undertake both jobs at the same time—killing you and protecting you. If only some of the boys who are destined to make gold star mothers in the next war remember some of the testimony when rifles are put into their hands, the statisticians will have a far easier job, both from the point of view of numbers killed and from that of profits made.

Johnny Goes For a Swim

Perhaps you will be one of the unlucky many on board an army transport on your way to the Philipine Islands, when a submarine suddenly appears and sends a torpedo in your general direction. Before you go down for the last time don't forget—"It's all for dear old Electric Boat Co.; they sold some of the latest designs in death dealing submarines to the 'enemy'."

Maybe you will be one of the "fortunate few" to get into the aviation service. When you wonder why you can not shake that Japanese pursuit plane chasing you remember that Curtiss-Wright (isn't that the name of the company that made the motor of the plane that you are flying?) sold its best planes and patents not only to the American government but to the Tokio one as well, and can one Curtiss-Wright outfly another?

Are Tomatoes Cheaper?

But, if you are one of the lucky ones to stay at home (flat feet or a politician friend or something of a similar nature) and are enough of an engine expert to recognize one hum from another, you will certainly be entranced by the familiar hum of the huge bomber dropping tomatoes in your grandmother's back yard—correct again, you guessed it, the darn thing was built right here in the peaceful state of Connecticut.

Every deck, however, must have its joker, and the joker in this business of shipping corpses on futures from one country to another is—that the government is against it. They are agin it, and its down in black and white—as a matter of fact they have been agin it since 1921. It's even in the Versailles Treaty, and every other year the government sends out a mimeographed copy of its form letter telling the boys that, "We are agin it".

Some wise sage once said, "War is a serious business!" So it is, and that is why the United States government is so much concerned with the question of who is getting the benefits of the money spent in the research laboratories of the war and navy departments. The present administration knows its task far better than did some of the previous ones, who's only purpose was to help out the boys. Today Washington can see beyond the immediate pocketbook. No Harding gang or Mellon crowd occupy preferred lists. "Capitalism as a whole" is the first title on Roosevelt's preferred list, and American capitalism demands that airplanes designed and built in the United States not be sent abroad to countries that may send them back loaded with bombs and machine gun bullets.

MARCH OF EVENTS

Relief

The problem of relief of the unemployed has assumed catastrophic proportions in the United States, proportions that threaten to undermine the entire system of capitalism. So long as the workers, through the system of capitalist exploitation, "support" the capitalists, the system can continue and maintain itself. But when the system has to "support" large masses of workers for any appreciable period it begins to become untenable as a mode of production and begins to undergo transformation leading to a new mode of production. That new mode, the system of Communism, must be ushered into being by the working class in the course of the class struggle, an important phase of which involves the fight for relief.

In June of this year there were 16 million persons on the relief rolls—13% of the entire population. Aside from individuals there were 3,830,000 families on relief in July and this number is steadily increasing so that it is estimated that the number will be 5 million in February, 1935. It is generally acknowledged that of the 37 million who work for wages and salaries, no less than 10 million are unemployed. In addition to this there are a large number of the 11 million who usually work for themselves, many of them farmers, who are also unable to support themselves. Thus Bohn states in the New York **Post** that there are 40,000 families out of a total of 80,000 on relief in the agricultural state of South Dakota. The youth from 16 to 25 who are neither at work nor at school, a good many of whom are not shown in any of the statistics, number some seven million. Small cause for wonder that the capitalists are alarmed at the thought that the vast reserve army of unemployed may establish their right to relief as a matter of course, as a part of the duty of the capitalist state, not a mere matter of charity.

* * *

The Constitution and the NRA

Constitution day has been made the occasion of a concerted attack by the outright capitalist reactionaries on the "liberal" Roosevelt and his NRA.

Bainbridge Colby, former Secretary of State, comes to the rescue of the sadly buffeted Constitution. "It is a gross calumny against the Constitution to represent it only as the protector of property." Of course it is not Roosevelt, as Colby would have us believe, who thinks of the Constitution in such sacrilegious fashion. The NRA is designed to save the Constitution and the capitalist property system embodied in it, but by bringing the ancient document a bit up to date.

Colby goes on, "Men high in the government speak of it as only a liberty to oppress or exploit and ask if there is not an overlooked liberty, the liberty to live and to work and to eat. This is a rather low type of political charlatanism. (Now, now, Bainbridge!)—The unemployed of the moment (after all five years is historically even less than a moment) and other victims of the depression are not victims of the Constitution."

Quite so, they are victims of the system of capitalism whose inception from the point of view of political state power can be traced back to the coup d'etat carried through by the wealthy mercantile forerunners of the capitalists, and given state form in the Constitution. That document was clearly intended to do nothing other than to protect private property, particularly against the will of the majority. Its liberty was and is the liberty of the ruling capitalist class to exploit the working class. The only liberty possessed by the worker is the right to work or to starve at his own expense when he cannot.

And it is perfectly in line with this "eternal" usage for Dr. Gerstenberg, former professor of finance at New York University to say before the Controllers' Institute of America, "Any person who draws a cent from the government in relief should not be permitted to vote. We should say to him: 'You are our servant, and we shall make the rules.'"

Our answer to these vile prostitutes of capitalism is: Messrs., you have made the rules long enough; you have forced us overlong to exist in a form of society rotten and corrupt and decaying in every limb. Our rules will be entirely different from yours. Our Constitution will embody the rule of the working class, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat through Soviets, and not the Dictatorship of the Capitalists established by your Constitution.

—JACK WEBER

OPEN FORUM

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Speaker:

JOHN G. WRIGHT

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144 Second Avenue, N. Y. C.

Questions and Discussion.

Admission Free

Auspices: Downtown Branch Communist League of America

QUESTION BOX

H. E. F., SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—

Question: What is the basis for the split among the capitalists on the question of inflation?

Answer: In the first place the demand for "cheap" money usually comes from the rural sections, where the small farmer, usually heavily mortgaged, expects that an inflation will make it easier for him to pay his debts. For illustration let us assume a farmer whose farm is worked only by himself and his family. Interest at 6% on his $7,000 mortgage is $420, taxes are $210 a year, so that his annual debt is $630. For goods bought from the city he must pay $400. He sells his annual crop for $900 which leaves him $500 with which to pay interest and taxes, so that he is in the red $120 each year and faces losing his farm in a few years.

If we assume an inflation which raises the price of farm products 40% and the price of city-made goods 50%, the farmer would then get $1,260 for his crop out of which purchases from the city would take $600, leaving him $660 for interest and taxes. Even if his taxes were raised to $240 a year, he is still able to pay his debts.

This is the underlying idea back of the farmers' demand for inflation and the basis for the "silver" and "greenback" advocates. The various factors, however, may so operate that the farmer will be as badly off as before. The prices of city-made products may rise much higher in proportion than is indicated in the foregoing example and overproduction of farm products may so depress their prices that the gain from inflation may be wiped out, despite the fact that the farmer would be even worse off under these circumstances than if the inflation had not taken place.

That capital which is sunk into farm mortgages or other sources of fixed money income stands to lose by inflation. The owner of the capital receives as many dollars as before but whether this is used for expansion of capital or for personal consumption, it can purchase fewer commodities because of the higher prices.

The worker, unless he fights for, and gets, a proportional pay increase, is the worst sufferer from an inflation, and his loss is the gain of capital sunk into industry, which pockets the decline in the workers' REAL wages. This wage cut also places the capitalists in a better competitive position on the world market.

In modern imperialist society, where the owners of the farm mortgage and the factory are the banks, the conflict among the latter over inflation reduces itself to whether or not they stand to gain more, economically and politically, through the cut in the workers' wages, than they pass out to the farmer as a subsidy.

* * *

HENRY BLOOMBERG, Brooklyn—

Question: What is the truth about the following?: The Stalinists say that the "Trotskyists" lie when they state that the C.P. called the A. F. of L. a fascist organization, whereas the C. P. said that the **leaders** are fascists.

Answer: On several occasions recently the "Question Box" (see **Militant** of August 4, 1934) has given the official Stalinist quotations and the word **organization** and not **leaders** was used.

However that may be, the Stalinists are only stepping from the frying pan into the fire. Bill Green and his ilk are NOT fascists. The prime purpose of fascism is the **annihilation** of the democratic institutions of the working class, of which the trades unions are by no means of least importance. If the A. F. of L. were to cease to exist, so would the salaries, sinecures, etc. of all the Bill Greens, and so would cease their right to sit at the same dinner table with the capitalists. Why should such people stand for fascism which, for them, means political suicide?

The appellation which best applies to these individuals is that of Daniel De Leon: "The Labor Lieutenants of the Capitalist Class."

* * *

PROF. W., Boston—

Question: How can you Communists speak of the "revolutionary working class" when it is obvious that 99% of the American workers support the capitalist parties?

Answer: The capitalist press usually puts this affirmatively as follows: The workers are not revolutionary; all they want is more wages, shorter hours, etc. This is of course either a naivite or a "subtle" blurring of the truth.

It is precisely because it must defend its material interests that a class may be forced to act in a revolutionary manner, whether or not it is conscious of the fact. Cromwell's Puritans fought for the right to pray in their own manner; the French Revolution was fought in the name of 'Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity." Nowhere in the English or French bourgeois revolutions was there inscribed on the banners: We are fighting so that the privilege of exploiting the masses shall be transferred from the feudal lords to the bourgeoisie, which is the revolutionary task of the day. After February 1917 large sections of the Russian peasantry were swearing that they would kill any Bolsheviks they got their hands on, at the same time that they were seizing the land. The Bolsheviks later gave consciousness to these acts. The Italian proletariat seized the factories some fourteen years ago but because their acts were not given consciousness, i.e. there was no revolutionary Communist Party at their head, they are now prostrate under the heel of fascism.

The modern industrial proletariat has absolutely no stake in the maintenance of present day capitalist society; their material needs require a revolutionary social transformation and they have been prepared by history to effect such a transformation. It is in this sense that we speak of them as revolutionary. The ideological superstructure lags behind its material base, and it is essentially to close this gap that a revolutionary Communist Party is needed.

* * *

J. R., BRYAN, Ohio—As the **Militant** has already noted, we are having our National Convention in a few weeks, on the agenda of which is the Negro question, which is now under discussion. It is obvious that within the limits of this column, the subject could hardly be adequately treated. Unless you insist otherwise, therefore, it would be preferable that you get your answer officially and fully from the adopted theses which will be published in the not too distant future. At any rate the best you could get at present is the personal opinion of this editor.

* * *

EDITOR'S NOTE: It would be greatly appreciated by the "Question Box" editor if comrades, upon receiving answers through this column, would inform us in a brief note whether or not such answers satisfactorily clear up the points in question, or give the desired information. We have no other way of knowing whether or not the column is fulfilling its desired mission. All suggestions for improvement are welcome, and will be acknowledged.

The Rise and Fall of a Gangster-Journalist

By Mid-Western Correspondent

On September 6, in Minneapolis, Howard Guilford was shot and killed by unknown assailants while driving home from downtown. This man's activities, his connections with the underworld and with the employers, has a significance for all workers.

Guilford had been in the publishing field for over twenty years, getting out blackmail and scandal sheets for the tittilating delectation of his wealthy readers and for the benefit of his pocketbook. His papers were never of a "popular" nature. He dabbled in politics, in 1918 being defeated in his candidacy for mayor. He had connections with the underworld; for a while things would go along nicely between Guilford and local gambling interests. Then Guilford would be "cut" out, and an exposure of commercalized gambling in the Twin Cities would appear in his paper. In 1927 Guilford was attacked and wounded by gunmen of the underworld. At another time this man dabbled in local theatricals, being a partner of Bainbridge, present mayor of Minneapolis. At no time in his life has he ever been known to do a socially productive bit of work. In short, Guilford is a quite common type of parasite, a 100% American, a man always for sale to the highest bidder; absolutely conscienceless, mediocre, cruel.

His latest publishing venture was a weekly paper, the **Saturday Press.** It was this paper that the Citizen's Alliance used during the Local 574 strikes to spew out their hatred against the militant Minneapolis workers, and to express their Black Hundred desires.

Tool of Citizen's Alliance

Local 574 was aware that Guilford was speaking over the air as a representative of the Citizen's Alliance, attacking the strikers in the most vicious ways imaginable. Local 574 was aware that the columns of Guilford's paper were filled with the frantic insane fear and hatred which the employers of Minneapolis feel for the class-conscious workers; a hatred which they think it advisable not to show in their other papers, the **Journal, Tribune** and **Star.**

But it is one thing to be aware of the connections between the employers and one of their tools, and another to have definite proof. So it was with satisfaction that Minneapolis workers read that the following letter was found among Guilford's effect. This letter is signed by none other than Joseph Cochran, the notorious chairman of the "Employers' Advisory Committee", so active in the last strike. The letter was addressed to citizens of the state, and reads as follows:

"A statewide campaign of education in the matter of economic disturbances of the past few months, their cause, their effect and their cure is most urgently needed.

"Howard Guilford, Twin City journalist and radio speaker, has volunteered to lead such a movement, working in co-operation with all agencies now trying to restore conditions to normalcy and eliminate the regrettable spirit of class hatred which is being propagated in Minneapolis. The ability of Mr. Guilford to secure results in his campaign will not be doubted by those acquainted with him, provided the necessary support is extended by business men and public spirited citizens interested in the future of the state."

This letter reeks with the hypocrisy, the statesmanlike diction of the boss class.

Since July 1, Guilford was mailing out a "political news service" to 400 country weeklies throughout the state, all these articles containing the most scurrilous attacks, not only upon the working class but upon every liberal sentiment. A Goebbels could not have conceived any filthier propaganda. Especially criticized in Guilford's "news service" were the Communists—and Governor Olson, an old political enemy of Guilford's.

I shall reproduce a few paragraphs from issues of the **Saturday Press** published during the strike, to give readers an idea of boss-journalism at its most brazen extreme. Readers of the Chicago **Tribune,** the Los Angeles **Times,** etc., will recognize the style.

Guilford's Bile

Reading in the issue of August 11:

"In this city a dozen lousy, moth-eaten, brainless wonders who yowl against and urge the overthrow of our government and the adoption of proletarian rule—communism—have forced more than five thousand workers to stand idle while ruffians and communists riot and raise hell. A handful of weevil-brained burros, who haven't the intelligence of a mud turtle but have the vocal organs of a caliope and the courage of coyotes, have cost the workers and common people of this city a million dollars in lost wages within the last ninety days."

In this same issue, the **Press** whoops it up for the vigilantes. It is significant that, try as it could, the Citizens Alliance was totally unable to form such an organization during the last strike. The memory of the Battle of Deputy Run in the Market district the last Tuesday of the May strike is too firmly implanted in the souls of the "better element".

Featured on the front page of the **Press** for Aug. 11 is a letter from the United Vigilantes of America.

Greetings from Fellow-Murderers

"As the Director of Investigations of the Vigilantes of California, a subsidiary of the United Vigilantes of America, I want to again congratulate your **Saturday Press** for the splendid way in which you denounced the un-Americans, in a recent issue of your splendid publi-

(Continued on Page 4)

Manifesto of Worker's Party of Canada

(continued from last issue)

For the Fourth International!

But while the general crisis of capitalism has created all the necessary objective conditions on a world scale for the successful struggle for Socialism, the international working class movement has itself been passing through a deep-going crisis. Time after time revolutionary opportunities have been lost, and capitalism has "stabilized" itself owing to the absence or failure of a party of the working class capable of giving leadership.

The International of the Social Democracy crumpled up in 1914 as a progressive factor in the working class when its national parts placed themselves openly in the service of their respective warring national bourgeoisies. From that time onward it became, not a working class party, but a bourgeois labor party and the most substantial buttress of a collapsing capitalist order. It ceased to offer the possibilities of reform and became an objective obstacle in the path of the proletariat. For that reason the advanced Marxian wing broke from it and raised the banner of the Third International. In 1933-1934, the Second International, its most important wings at any rate (the conservative German Social Democracy in 1933 and the "radical" Austrian Social Democracy in 1934) was annihilated as an ORGANIZATIONAL factor. In 1914 and 1918-1921, the Social Democracy proved its inherent incapacity to defend the socialist interests of the proletariat. In 1933-1934 the Social Democracy proved its equally inherent incapacity to defend even the "bourgeois" democratic interests of the proletariat. The bourgeoisie, resorting to the Fascist solution because it could no longer solve its problems with the aid of the Social Democratic physician, exterminated the latter without mercy or gratitude.

The Third International was built up on the ruins of the Second. In the first years of its existence it was the rallying ground of all the progressive and revolutionary forces in the ranks of the proletariat and all other oppressed toilers. In the second, Stalinist period, it experienced an almost uninterrupted decline under the banner of bureaucratic Centrism. Corrupted by the poisonous theory of "socialism in one country", the Third International gradually ceased to be the directing staff of international revolution. By virtue of this nationalistic theory, the harmony of *interest between the preservation* of the Soviet fatherland and the advancement of the world revolution, was replaced by the conflict of interests between the world revolution and the Soviet bureaucracy dominating the Republic and the International. The theory of national socialism in which was implicit from the very beginning the August 4th of the Comintern, distilled for the world proletariat—the Russian included—one defeat after another, prostrating the revolutionary movement abroad and undermining the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union. To this theory can be traced not merely the bureaucratic degeneration of the International, but the defeat of the English proletariat in 1926, the collapse of Polish Communism at the time of the Pilsudski coup d'etat in the same year, the frightful mangling of the Chinese working class and peasantry by the Kuo Min Tang in 1927, the topping off of the revolutionary wing (Bolshevik-Leninists) from the Soviet Union Party in the same year. Turning its back upon the world revolution in which it lost faith, in order to pursue the illusion of a national utopia in the Soviet Union, the Stalinist Bureaucracy ended by a treacherous desertion of the German proletariat which resulted in delivering it, unarmed and unprepared, into the hands of Hitlerism. The German defeat for which Stalinism bears joint responsibility with Social Democracy, is that last drop which precipitated the final collapse of the Third International and removed it from all possibilities of reform just as definitely as was the case with the Social Democracy twenty years earlier.

In breaking with the Stalinist International, we continue our fight for the revolutionary theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky which were the foundation stones of the Communist International. To continue the struggle for revolutionary Marxism today can mean only one thing: to build a Fourth International, a new Communist International, and new Communist Parties in every country in the world.

The Crisis in Canada and the Workers' Party

The crisis in Canada has thrown into sharp relief the deep-seated contradictions and antagonisms in the class-structure of capitalist society. At one pole we find growing centralization and concentration of wealth and capital, giant monopolist banks and industrial corporations (finance-capital), fabulous profits, luxurious living; at the other pole—increasing misery and insecurity of the masses, merciless wage-cutting, over a million unemployed, foreclosures and evictions, inhuman exploitation of women and youth, violation of legal minimum scales, inadequate relief pittance, and absence of social insurance Fearing radicalization of the masses, the capitalist state sets in motion all its machinery of repression. The Criminal Code outlaws working-class political parties. Freedom of speech, assemblage and other civil liberties are trampled underfoot, the workers' press is subjected to censorship, militant workers are jailed or deported. Under pressure of the crisis, however, the masses move to the left, even though their discontent with capitalism still finds its outlet in the channels of social reformism.

Continued in the next issue

WORLD OF LABOR

YOUNG LENINISTS OF FRANCE TAKE DECISIVE STEP

(The full text of the resolution adopted by the Young Leninists of France, the counterpart of the Spartacus Youth League of America, on the next step to be taken by their organization is printed below. To some it will appear as a departure from our traditional position in this resolution. The decision contained therein, to join the Socialist youth of France should not come as a surprise to any of our membtrs or sympathizers. The **Militant** has time and time again stressed the momentous importance of the events now transpiring in France. As in Germany the question of Fascism or proletarian revolution is posed with razor-like sharpness. Of vital necessity, there, is a vanguard, a new Communist party, to guide the working class in its moment of decisive action. Because our organization is small and weak despite its correct policies and slogans, it is isolated from the masses and is thereby ineffective. The united front between the Communist and Socialist parties, which has remained in the leading strings of the bureaucrats of both parties has not set the proletariat into action against Fascism but it has further isolated our small group in France.

The entry of the Leninist Youth in France—that is the only country whert such a step has been decided upon—has as its purpose the welding of the revolutionary vanguard of the working class youth with the leftward moving young socialists and together with them build the new party on the solid foundations of Marxism and Leninism. As will be noted in the document, not a principle, not an idea, not a line of the Fourth International is renounced, revised or compromised by the Young Leninists in taking this step. They do it with their eyes open, their banner flying and in the interests of the revolutionary youth.—Ed. Note)

* * *

The defeat of the German proletariat has posed the task of regrouping the revolutionary faction of the proletariat into new parties. Especially the necessity of winning the young workers to the cause of revolutionary Marxism requires that an international of the youth in the spirit of Liebknecht be rebuilt against the impotent and bankrupt bureaucrats of the Young Socialist and Young Communist Internationals.

The development of the political situation in France has not only confirmed the fundamental line adopted by the International Communist League but demands that it build the vanguard party powerful enough to play a decisive role as soon as possible. Since February 6th a pre-bonapartist regime emerged which has been balancing itself between hostile classes. Without excluding a reactionary stabilization of the crisis in France, the most probable perspective, the one upon which it is necessary to base activity, is an intensification of the class struggle and the development of a number of sharp crises will pose the question of power and lead either to the victory of the proletarian revolution or to the victory of Fascism.

The program of action of the Ligue and the youth, the creation of a worker's militia, the workers' alliances, workers' control of production, the arming of the proletariat, etc. was predicated on this short perspective. This slogan, more timely than ever, must penetrate into the masses. Our tactic should aim towards swinging the masses into action on the basis of these slogans.

Towards this end it is necessary to work for the creation of a party and a youth organization unfettered by reformism, centrism and Stalinism. When the Communist party is beginning to justify in advance its "conditional" participation in national defense, it becomes clear that only a party which holds aloft the banner of internationalism and revolutionary defeatism can stand the test in an imperialist war.

But correct ideas alone do not suffice for the constitution of such a party. Despite the successes of the Leninist Youth and the radiation of our Bolshevik-Leninist ideas, our organization is too weak to guide the experience of the masses, as an independent organization in the short period of time before us. Our organic weakness will cause us to remain mere "advisers" to the existing parties.

It is in thes conditions that we see a powerful movement towards organic unity. This marks the ideological reaction which has taken place since noted the ferment in the working masses and the ried this out a year ago. In these conditions, having Tours (1920). But the reaction has ended. We pointsings which will follow, regrouping of all workers, currents into one movement with a democratic regime can constitute a very progressive factor for the evolution of large proletarian sections. Especially we, the youth, should stand shoulder to shoulder and learn collectively in the struggle against Fascism. Our task is not to cast judgment like high-and-mighty professors but to go through the same experience with the working youth and then with them to find the path to the real revolutionary youth organization on the bases of Marxism and Leninism. That is why the Young Leninists approve the slogan of the Central Committee: "One revolutionary youth organization."

As partisans of the creation of a new revolutionary youth international, we believe that a step in this direction is the break in the Y.S.I. with the bloc of patriots and reformists (Holland, etc.). The first task is to solidify all the left socialist youth who orient towards Marxism (Belg um, Spain, France, etc.) and to clarify the vital problems of the young workers.

In France the problem is particularly sharp because of the rapidity with which they are orienting themselves towards decisive measures. Our place, today, is in the vanguard of the working class youth who will fight in the united youth organization of tomorrow; in the Communist youth if it gives us the right to defend our own opinions in its ranks; in the Socialist youth especially, where more and more important sections of militants are breaking with reformism and finding the road to Marxism. In order to assist the left in its evolution towards Leninism, in order to spread our slogans, and to pass rapidly over to action, in order to work for the united Youth organization of tomorrow, circumstances compel us today to join the Young Socialists.

The Young Leninists are not making a maneuver nor do they want any deals. Each unit of the Young Leninists will join the corresponding section of the Young Socialists.

Respectful of discipline the Young Leninists demand for themselves only the rights and duties of every member of the organization, among others the right to defend their conceptions within the framework of proletarian democracy and discipline.

The Young Leninists will enter the Young Socialists without hiding their banner, without surrendtring any of their principles. These principles are the ones which made the victorious Russian Revolution. The world revolution will be made by them. We are fully confident that our ideas will find their way into the masses, permitting thus the effective struggle against the common enemies of the youth and the working class: capitalism and the fascist butchers.

The History of the Frisco General Strike

By JIM OSBORN and DICK ETTLINGER

The San Francisco Waterfront and General Strike is now history. Such a tremendous struggle involving as it did almost a hundred thousand workers demands a detailed analysis in order to clearly bring out the lessons of the strike and the steps to be taken in the development of future struggles of the labor movement in this city. This in the main is the purpose of this article.

The background of the conflict is to be found in the conditions that prevailed on the waterfront from 1922 until the latter part of 1933. During this period the longshoremen had been working under the Blue Book or Company Union. The men were forced to pay dues in the Blue Book Union in order to hold a job on the waterfront. In this company union they were subject to all of the deplorable conditions possible in their craft. Such as having to report every morning and stand on the Embarcadero waiting to be called. Even when hey were hired and instructed to report at the dock for work, they would have to wait for hours, day or night, for ships to come in without receiving any pay until they went to work.

The Blacklist

Those men who most willingly accepted these conditions and did not object to the speed-up system in vogue on the water front were naturally the favorites and received the bulk of the work, while those who protested were quickly blacklisted.

When Section 7A of the NRA went into effect organization again developed on the front. This new organization was formed within the framework of the International Longshoremens Association. Active in this unionization campaign were various elements. A few members of the Proletarian Party, members of the Communist Party and other militants as well as many conservative longshoremen. A conservative by the name of Holman was elected President of the San Francisco local of the new organization. By January 1934 approximately 90% of the stevedores of the West Coast were carrying cards in the I.L.A.

The Communist Party had for some time been trying to organize the workers on the waterfront in the Marine Workers Industrial Union without success. Their failure forced them to abandon this plan as far as the longshoremen were concerned, and instead they instructed their members to join the I.L.A. and build within that organization a militant left wing.

In February 1934 a West coast convention of the I.L.A. was called for the purpose of formulating demands and making preparations for a strike.

It was decided at this Convention that the scale of wages should be $1.00 per hour and $1.50 per hour for overtime, that the 30 hour week should be put into effect, and that the I.L.A. should have control of the hiring halls. It was also decided that the I.L.A. was opposed to any arbitration of these demands. The convention also went on record in favor of a coast-wide agreement and the formation of a water front federation consisting of all maritime workers. While the so-called left wing was able to secure a majority for the adoption of the demands to be presented to the employers, the conservative elements secured control organizationally and elected the majority of the members to the coast executive board.

These demands were presented to the ship owners at a meeting of ship owners, the I.L.A. and the Regional Labor Board on March 5, 1934. The owners turned down all of the demands and publicly accused the I.L.A. of being dominated by "a bunch of reds", and also that the officials of the I.L.A. did not represent the men.

Majority for Strike

After their demands were turned down a strike vote was taken by the I.L.A. in all coast ports resulting in an overwhelming majority in favor of the strike. The strike date was set for March 23. A telegram was received from President Roosevelt on March 22, asking that the strike be postponed and that new negotiations be entered into.

William Lewis, district president of the I.L.A., on his own authority issued a statement saying that the strike had been called off. His action was later endorsed by the Executive Committee, but there was strong criticism of Lewis by many of the rank and file, although some of the conservatives did support him, stating that "we must give the President an opportunity to settle our demands". If the left elements had attempted to force the issue of a strike at this time, there would have been grave danger of a split.

Negotiations were carried on during April without any progress being made. The waterfront employers refused to make any concessions although many meetings were held. Practically all elements in the I.L.A. were convinced by the first of May that a strike was inevitable. Negotiations were broken off and a strike called, effective on May 9.

Ryan's Maneuvers

Again efforts were made to call off the strike, this time openly by Ryan, international president of the I.L.A. The longshoremen of Seattle were at first influenced by these actions but on hearing of the action of the San Francisco local they also joined the strike.

The teamsters who are the key craft in any waterfront struggle, at first took no action, but the I.L.A. pickets were constantly working to get them to refuse to handle any scab cargo. These efforts were very successful and the Teamsters Union, over-riding the wishes of their reactionary officials, overwhelmingly voted not to haul any cargo to and from the docks.

A few days after the I.L.A. strike began, the seamen were called upon to strike by the Marine Workers Industrial Union, and the greater portion of them left the ships as fast as they came into port. The International Seamen's Union had been a union in name only for a number of years as the seamen were almost wholly unorganized prior to the strike. Nevertheless, the vast majority of the striking seamen joined the I.S.U. during the strike. The seamen's wages had been reduced from $90.00 in 1921 to an average of $40.00 per month, but at first their walkout was a sympathetic one with the longshoremen. Later, however, they formulated their own demands including recognition of their union. In their walkout they were joined by firemen and oilers, the cooks and stewards, the Marine Engineers and the Master Mates and Pilots.

Workers Support Marine Strike

From the very beginning the rank and file of the San Francisco labor movement supported the marine workers' strike. So overwhelming was this support that the bureaucrats of the San Francisco labor movement were forced to issue an appeal to all unions for support. Thousands of dollars were contributed to the support of the waterfront strikers.

The strike committee of the I.L.A. did not effectively capitalize on this support. They should have sent speakers to all the unions, both with the idea of getting funds and propagating the idea of a general strike. If such a policy had been carried out it would have been possible to organize left elements within the various unions of the San Francisco labor movement around the idea of a general strike thereby placing the bureaucracy in a position where they could not have so easily kept the complete leadership under their control when they were forced to call the general strike.

Another mistake made at this period of the strike was that the strike committees of the various unions met separately which prevented effective coordination of picketing and other important strike activities.

(To Be Continued)

American Workers Party Sends Letter on Unity

(Ed. Note.—We print below the letter of the American Workers Party on the question of fusion with the Communist League. In next week's MILITANT the reply of the National Committee of the Communist League will appear.

* * *

September 18, 1934

National Committee,
c/o Arne Swabeck,
Communist League of America,
144 Second Avenue,
New York City.

Dear Comrades:

Both your organization and ours have declared for the formation of a new revolutionary party of the workers, and for a new international as soon as conditions permit actual organizing efforts. We have all been working to this end during the past months. As a part of this work, several conferences have been held between committees of the American Workers Party and the Communist League of America. At these meetings the programmatic statement of the A.W.P. and certain phases of the program of the C.L.A. have been discussed in a frank and comradely spirit.

We believe sufficient headway has been made in these meetings to make it necessary for both of us finally to clarify the relation between our organizations and, if we are in essential agreement on fundamentals, to take concrete steps toward the accomplishment of organic unity. Your letter dated September 7 reached us toward the end of the Pittsburgh session of the P.O.C., after an exhaustive analysis of the general situation in the country and in the movement, and of the problem of unity before us, had been completed. We were glad to discover that you too arrived at the conclusion that discussion of organizational merger is the logical consequence of our earlier joint meetings.

You state in your letter that the revised edition of the Draft Program of the A.W.P. has come to your hand. This new edition was written after the conclusion of the discussions on program held between the committees of our respective organizations and with the content of the discussions in mind. It is our opinion that in all fundamental respects the revised program of the A.W.P. correctly states the position of the revolutionary party of the workers which we want to build.

Since the question of program is paramount and primary in the formation of the new party, we wish to learn from you, at the earliest date possible, whether you are prepared to accept this Draft Program as a working basis for the program of the new party. Should there be any question on your part as to certain formulations will you please include in your reply the versions which you choose to propose or sections which you wish to add, so that we may give them proper consideration?

Our program contains criticism, in some detail, of the principles and the activities of the Communist Party and the C. I. We hold that such criticism must be made and that a thorough critical analysis of all the revolutionary parties in the field is an indispensable part of the preparatory work in the building of the new party. However, we must take care that our criticism of C.I. and C.P. policies not only is not, but is free from any appearance of being, an attack upon the Soviet Union. We are sure that you will agree with us that the defense of the workers' fatherland to which so many have given lip-service is a major task of the new party; that in the light of the world situation such defense, as well as counteraction of the disastrous policies of the Communist International, can only be weakened by any attempt to build a new party within the S. U.; and that these ends can be most rapidly and effectively achieved by the building of powerful revolutionary parties in the major capitalist nations and of the new Intersational. The establishment of an actually functioning workers' government in Russia, and the unbroken existence of the Soviet Union during these years of capitalist reaction and disintegration everywhere else, constitute an inspiring contribution to the world revolutionary movement. While the rise of the fascist powers in the west and the aggressive imperialism of Japan in the east may be taken as specific arguments in favor of careful statement in any criticism of the S. U., the fundamental solidarity of all revolutionary workers with the Russian Revolution is of basic significance. This is the paramount reason why a legitimate critical analysis of policies and attitudes should not be permitted to drift into a virtual attack. This utmost care in handling all matters concerning the S. U. is of cardinal importance to our task of building a revolutionary consciousness among the workers in our country as well as in all other lands. We think it is important to emphasize this point because, however justified C. L.A. criticisms of certain policies of the S.U. may have been, they have stood out in the public mind as the expression of an antagonistic attitude toward the S. U. It would be a great handicap in our efforts to build the new revolutionary party if we failed to clear up this point from the outset.

In the event of a favorable reply from you on the question of program, we are prepared to take immediate steps to bring about organic unity. This would mean, in the last analysis and as we understand it, the merger of the two organizations, the C.L.A. and the A.W.P., members of either organization ceasing to have any connection with any other political organization, national or international, save such as may be determined by the party to be formed as part of the effort to build the new international, and ceasing to issue or to participate in issuing any political organ save those sanctioned by the new party. We shall be ready to suggest a plan for accomplishing the merger and to consider any plan which you may wish to offer.

It is important that in seeking to bring about the organic unity we should go about it in such a manner as to make unity not only possible but likewise enduring. We specifically refer to the fact that in the past years our respective organizations have pursued somewhat different courses and attitudes. For a period of six years your membership has been engaged in a fierce political struggle with the C.P. and the C.I., and because of it they have developed a strong tendency to emphasize points of disagreement and an aptitude for dogmatism. Our organization has functioned primarily in the economic conflicts of the American labor scene and many of our members are but slowly coming to realize the significance of clear-cut theoretical positions. We know that your organization is consciously moving from sectarian existence toward conscious and purposive participation in mass movements. Likewise our members are developing the desired party and theoretical consciousness. There would be no point, however, in denying that members of political organizations do not easily discard habits of reasoning and acting. Consequently, our efforts at unity must cope with this state of affairs and we must exercise utmost care in working out the procedure.

We believe that the name A.W.P. should be the name of the new party, both because we consider this a name excellent and appropriate in itself and because it is already known to thousands of workers as the name of the new party. If, however, you have in mind a name which you consider more suitable, we are prepared to discuss it. We are convinced, though, that the name of the new party must not make use of the labels, "socialist" or "communist", because the use of either of them would tend to make the new party appear as a faction of or in some other way related to either the social-democracy or the communist international.

In the meantime, as we proceed with the steps aiming at organic unity, we propose that united activities, in which our organizations have been engaged for some time, be extended upon both a local and a national scale. We propose that a committee from each organization meet to draw up a plan for such united activities. Furthermore, we suggest that we attempt to make this plan a general model for the united activities of working class groups, and that we make every effort to secure its acceptance by the largest possible number of other working class groups. We wish that these united activities be entered into and continued whatever the immediate result in the matter of merging our organizations, since both our organizations, since both our organizations, since both our organizations this kind with other groups.

We propose that all documents in these negotiations between our organizations be promptly published in the respective organs of the C. L.A. and the A.W.P., or if in any case this proves physically impossible, that they be made promptly available to the membership of both organizations in some other way.

Our organizations are agreed that these questions of unity and united action must not be delayed. No significant step toward unity in the revolutionary workers movement has been taken in a decade. The need for such a step is a matter of supreme importance. The building of the new revolutionary party is a first and indispensable item on the agenda of the workers' revolution.

Fraternally yours,
Provisional Organizing Committee
American Workers Party
A. J. MUSTE,
Chairman

INDIAN SUMMER
FESTIVAL & DANCE
SATURDAY, OCT. 27, at 8 P.M.
IRVING PLAZA
(Victoria Hall)
15th St. & Irving Place
Refreshments Entertainment
Admission 35c
Auspices: International Workers School, 144 2nd Ave., N.Y.C.

NO RECOVERY HERE

By PAUL SCHWALBE

The "New Deal" president has been in office for nearly two years. Billions of dollars have been spent by Roosevelt's administration on national recovery, the Soviet Union has been recognized, prohibition has ended. And yet there is no visible sign of that great American boom, the prosperity that was to follow the long depression years—to fill the empty pots with fat chickens and the equally empty garages with shiny cars—after these great anticipations had been fulfilled! On the contrary. The working class suffers more than ever.

The workers everywhere want to know why it is that the blight of unemployment and economic distress is still upon them, that so little is being done anywhere by anybody to give them real enlightenment. This, together with widespread and bitter personal poverty and a vast amount of ignorance among them concerning the causes of the sufferings, constitute the outstanding phenomena observed on a recent tour around New York in a 300 mile radius which included some strike territory in the textile centers.

Privation Everywhere

Times are hard, undeniably hard. From where the waves of the Atlantic beat upon the shore lines of New York and New Jersey to the confluence of the Hudson and Sacandaga rivers at Hadley and beyond, unemployment is general and widespread. It is not a fictitious situation concocted by radicals to plague Roosevelt's administration. It is a shameful and damning fact.

Large numbers of workers are angry and desperate. Many of them are openly advocating revolution and civil war. They know nothing of the system which grinds out the inequalities of wealth and poverty. All they know is that they are without work and starving in a land of plenty, with a host of parasites splurging on the top. Ragged families in dilapidated automobiles roam the country searching for work and something to eat. The weary, haunted look which appears on the faces of the heads of these families, and the despairing appearances of their withered wives and undernourished children make a picture the itinerant observer can never forget. Hungry men and boys tramping from here to there looking for work they will never find add to the impressiveness of a situation that is full of contingencies.

What the People Think About

In Albany, N. Y., a man of some local consequence predicted that if something is not done by somebody soon to alleviate the situation the "biggest strike riots this country ever saw would surely come".

Another man, a textile worker in Cumberland Mills, R. I., declared he was ready, right now, to take a gun and join in an armed uprising against Wall Street.

A sailor in Providence, in discussing unemployment, said he did not see how this country could be saved from revolution.

Such statements and declarations made over and over again by workers of all trades and all localities are the outspoken expression of the unrest and rebellion which rages in the hearts of these men. They were not uttered merely by jobless and hungry men. They were made by textile workers employed up till the present strike, sailors temporarily ashore, small farmers, small storekeepers and by workers on the job, all of whom, however, are conscious of their economic insecurity and fearful of the future.

Understanding Still Superficial

Seldom did one hear a single principle or proposition which cut through all the surface down to the basic cause of the depression—to the capitalist system. They do not know whether there is any system or any lack of system. They simply know they are out of work and starving. The small storekeepers knew they were near bankruptcy in their efforts to compete with the great chain stores and the small farmers were conscious they were losing their farms to the banks.

Precisely what is the matter, whom or what to hold responsible, and what might be done to remedy the conditions are questions in which the people generally are at sea.

Opportunity on the Slave Market

About 50 miles northwest, in the small town of Phillipsburg, a crowd similar in size and character to the Somerville aggregation had gathered at the promise of jobs. Further investigation revealed that the company had advertized for 30 stone quarriers. It was to be noted that they were all white and of native American stock. Their ages ranged from 20 to 40 years. Splendid specimens of physical manhood, they were a credit to the country that gave them birth. From their youth each of them had been taught that their country was a land of liberty and opportunity, that their government was the best and finest that could be devised, that a millionaire's fortune or the presidency of the United States awaited every bright young man who knew how to answer the call of opportunity, and that failure was due to no one but himself.

The sentiment of these men was distinctly against the receipt of charity. What they wanted was work. While outwardly good-natured, it was apparent they were in no mood to be trifled with and that if they could not get work they were not going to starve quiescently.

The stone quarriers in northern New Jersey have adopted the rotating process of giving the men three days work a week. Scores of industrial plants in the east—Newark, Elizabeth, Perth Amboy and smaller centers are closed down completely with their former employes wondering what next.

Coolie Conditions Come to America

In the Springfield district in Southern Massachusets it was said that laborers at $1 a day could be had in abundance.

To the matter-of-fact observer it looks as if the coolie conditions of China are making rapid progress in the United States.

Conditions in Coast towns from Massachusets and Connecticut down to New York and beyond are truly deplorable. How the workers are going to weather the coming winter is a mystery.

Is there any need to mention or describe the breadlines that meet one's horrified gaze? From Boston to New York to Philadelphia and on to Baltimore it was one continuous breadline, replete with men, women and children. Many of these charity applicants were unashamed as they took the bread and soup handed out so condescendingly. Others swallowed their pride with difficulty as they drove their miserable bodies to accept the food necessary to sustain life.

Aside from an armed uprising of the workers, measures of relief proposed by some were as amusing as they were futile. The popular opinion seemed to prevail that if President Roosevelt were not embarrassed by his opponents—the capitalists (!)—conditions would improve. Others thought that restoration of gambling, lotteries and the old-time saloon would bring good times again. Among other measures advocated were tariff changes, disarmament, a stiff foreign war that would kill off the unemployed. Some were outspoken for an acceptance of the situation with holy resignation, claiming that the depression was sent by God as a blessing in disguise.

Curiously interesting is the fact that quite a number of workers are sympathetic towards the Soviet Union. The news that the workers of Russia were all working while fifteen million Americans were without jobs contributed not a little to increasing dissatisfaction with present conditions.

Marxian Information Scarce

Diligent inquiry failed to unearth a solitary worker, outside of textile centers and large coastal cities, who had ever heard of the **Militant,** or who had ever read a communist publication. But every one had heard of Eugene V. Debs, Lenin and Trotsky. Very few had an intelligent conception of the Marxian philosophy, the communist program or objectives. The few more knowing ones were quite sure that the Soviet Union was a country where the workers had come into their own through revolution, but were ill-informed of the economic conditions on which the Soviet Republic rests.

Evidence of breakdown of capitalism are at every hand. The cry of "The Coming American Boom" echoes with the hollowness of its own mockery. In the entire history of the nation never was poverty more acute or distress more distracting and the outlook for the future so gloomy. The concentration of riches—greater than any nation ever knew before—into the hands of a privileged class is the essence of capitalism's infamy and the forerunner of capitalism's fall.

The working masses everywhere are looking now for a new revolutionary party that will guide them to understanding—to organization and action.

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT

JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

A Gangster-Journalist

(Contined from Page 3)

cation.

"It is indeed fortunate for the true Americans to have a man like yourself as editor of an outstanding publication that will denounce the corrupt official and crooked politician which I believe is more dangerous, etc. . . . and your splendid paper should have among its subscribers all the real Americans.

"Twelve Americans had the communists here jumping out of second story windows and next Friday night there will be a meeting for the purpose of organizing 10,000 Veterans of all wars as the 'Shock Troops' of the Vigilantes and in the very near future the Vigilantes will issue their ultimatum to the Communists to pack their bag and baggage and leave the confines of this glorious city. If any questionable or politician dares to take sides with them, he may be called before the Tribunal to ANSWER.

"I believe that the Minneapolis Committee will soon secure their charter so that they can function under the head of this great institution and keep America for Americans.

"Again congratulating you, I remain,

"Yours sincerely,
"WILLIAM J. OTTS,
"Vigilantes of California.
"Director of Investigations
"San Francisco, Cal."

Two weeks later, in the **Press** edition of August 25, we read the following:

For God and Pocketbook

"Now get me right on this. I am interested first and last in the organization of a **Minnesota Vigilante.** I want that organization to get going—not after a while, but now!

"I want you business men, you **Americans,** to get together. . . . Just move around and talk this Vigilante matter over with some of your intimate and trusted friends. You'll be surprised to learn that they believe as you do—that **the time is here!** . . . There's never been a time in the history of these United States when the peril was greater than at present or the need as acute for a solid phlanax (G. Here he probably means p halanx) of **American citizens.** . . . There are twenty-three thousand communists in Minneapolis. Are there enough **American citizens** to form a Vigilante?" etc., ad naseum.

I have quoted at some length from Guilford's paper to indicate the venom and vulgarity with which it is written, and to show once more the connection between acts against the working class and fine talk of "Americanism" and "patriotism".

Incidentally, it is evident that the **Saturday Press** is quite cozily subsidized by those whose interests it serves. This paper is mailed free to all business houses in town, and any one interested can write in and get a free copy or have copies sent to all his friends gratis.

The Bosses' Scruples

This then is the way the Minneapolis employers, organized in their Citizen's Alliance, move against the workers. They think nothing of buying up a newspaper, lock, stock and barrel, and hiring its editor to propagandize throughout the state, by means of the paper, the radio and the "news service". They go further and praise a man of the foulest character, just as the Hitlerites sing hosannas to Horst Wessel. They underhandedly agitate for the creation of a Vigilante.

That such a newspaper as the **Saturday Press** continues to be published—this alone is enough to damn forever a society which permits such a journalistic excrescence to poison the air. And yet this paper is not only permitted but encouraged by the rulers of our capitalist society. A Marxian sociologist could discover from the columns of this paper the whole history and background of the festering corruption, gross dishonesty and hypocrisy, that is the lot of Minneapolis and of the nation today.

Incidentally, Guilford's death has of course been laid at the door of the communists. The man was probably wiped out by some of his gangster associates whom he had double-crossed, or possibly by some of the "solid" citizens whom he had blackmailed during his unscrupulous career.

Soviet Union Joins the League of Nations

(Continued from Page 1)

Nations, occupying therein the place due to itself and undertaking to observe all international obligations and decisions that are binding upon members in conformity with Article 1 of the covenant." (My emphasis, H. O.)

This statement is no different from any pacifist declaration which has been used to characterize the League ever since its inception. This pacifist statement is no accidental incident in the life of Stalinism. It is merely the continuation of the pacifist position that Stalinism has adopted at the Amsterdam Anti-War Congress which it has followed throughout the world in its other "Anti-War" organizations. Under Stalinism the Comintern has degenerated into a border patrol of the Soviet Union. It is not an instrument for revolution, and its fight against war degenerates into pacifism.

The pacifist illusions the Stalinists are sowing in the ranks of the working class, both through the Comintern and the foreign office of the Soviet Union, can be compared to the role of the Second International on the eve of the last world war. Now it is the Stalinist Third International which competes with the Second International for these reformist honors, on the eve of a new world war.

—HUGO OEHLER.

A Comment on Belgian United Front Pact

We printed in the September 8 issue of the **Militant,** for the information of our readers, the united front pact signed by the Belgian Young Socialist Guards, the Young Communist League and the Leninist Youth League. As previously stated the Young Socialist Guards, numbering some 35,000, are many times larger and more influential than the other two groups combined.

At this time we wish to call attention to section 4 of the pact as unacceptable to Marxists.

"4. The three organizations consider it logical and elementary to solemnly promise to establish a truce in their quarrels and cease reciprocal attacks in the course of the common action.

"Each organization promises not to attempt any maneuver for the purpose of winning away adherents from one another.

"It is understood that for the duration of the pact the organizations shall refrain from all insults, even outside of the joint action.

"However, outside of the joint action itself, each organization reserves for itself complete independence for the carrying on of its doctrinal propaganda."

The first paragraph is in direct conflict and incompatible with the last (and further restricted by the reservation of the Young Socialist Guard and the Young Leninist League on the right to criticize the foreign policies of the Soviet Union). What are the "quarrels" between the organizations for which a "truce" is established, if not precisely the "doctrinal propaganda" for which they reserve "complete independence"? None can be found. Independence is impossible without the right to criticize.

During a united front the participating parties do not establish a truce in their conflicting programs but rather accept a common minimum program and are bound by a discipline of action. Loyalty to voluntary agreement is essential for its effectiveness.

The right to criticize does not mean slandering and insulting. Working class bodies should refrain from such methods in all their dealings with one another, whether they are in a united front or not. "Maneuvering" in the sense of deceptive tricks is also alien to the tactical arsenal of workers' groups in their relation with one another.

To declare a "truce" between workers' organizations organizations is a non-aggression pact and cannot help, but rather hinders the common action and runs counter to the basic class interests of the workers. The Social Democratic leaders favor a non-aggression pact because they fear revolutionary criticism. The Stalinist bureaucrats submit to it because they have been ordered to form a united front at all costs and also fear criticism.

However, the Socialist ranks have their own reasons for supporting a non-aggression pact. They have observed the conduct of the Stalinists, their slanders and disloyalty; they have encountered Stalinist hooliganism at their meetings. They have little confidence, based upon previous experience, of the Stalinists carrying out an agreement. They demand a "guarantee" against Stalinist treachery.

But is a non-aggression pact a guarantee? Hardly. There are no guarantees against the miserable conduct of the Stalinists. A united front agreement can include a section pledging the participating parties not to indulge in slanders, etc. But it cannot, if a genuine united front is to be established, prohibit or restrict the right of criticism.

—Editor.

CANNON-BINGHAM DEBATE

One of the most interesting debates of the season is scheduled to take place Thursday, October 11, at Irving Plaza.

The subject of the debate will be: "Farmer-Labor Party or Revolutionary Marxist Party" Alfred Bingham, editor of **Common Sense** will take the side of the Farmer Labor Party and James P. Cannon will speak for a Revolutionary Marxist Party.

The Minneapolis strike provided the occasion for a concrete test of the role of the Farmer-Labor Party in regard to the struggles of the workers. The experiences of this strike give the scheduled debate an exceptional interest at the present time.

Both debaters are familiar with the events in Minneapolis and the part played in them by Governor Olson, the Farmer Labor Governor. Besides that, the debaters are experienced proponents of the conflicting party concepts. These facts assure a fair and thorough presentation of the question from each point of view.

Make a note of the date and place: Thursday, October 11, at Irving Plaza, 15th Street and Irving Place, New York.

Relief Vital for Textile Victory

(Continued from Page 1)

Cold Steel for Textile

And in that last response to the union demand you have the gist of the matter. By its own admission this Steel Board after months of existence is still investigating, workers are still being fired, Weirton Steel continues its old course.

It may be good politics for the bosses not to rush into print, heralding the findings and recommendations of the Inquiry Board as the "salvation of civilization" . . . and the safeguarding of their profits. It might make the textile workers sceptical of the whole business.

But for the union and its leaders to be silent, or to see in the report a basis for settlement, is not only not good politics, it is not good unionism and it is detrimental to the cause of the mill workers.

No Settlement a la Winant!

There is no need of sending the strikers back to work and then trying to settle the strike. This is a national and not a local battle. More workers are involved than ever before in any one labor struggle in this country. The militancy, the flying squadrons, are on a par with the most glorious class conflicts in American labor history. The third week of the strike finds the ranks tight as a drum. The textile strike can and must be won on the picket line. Victory is in sight. The bosses' ranks are becoming panicky. Under these conditions the attempt of any labor leader to settle the strike at this time on the basis of the Winant proposals would be treachery to the embattled mill workers.

Relief! Relief!

What is most needed now to see the strike through to a triumphant conclusion is relief, relief and relief. If the strikers are to win they must be fed. Who will feed them but their brother union?

William Green did lip-service to the strike when he announced his intention of calling a conference of the unions to arrange relief for the textile workers. But this conference has not taken place. It has been postponed to the A. F. of L. convention weeks off. What is this but sabotage of the workers? What is this but aid to the mill barons who want to starve the workers into submission?

No! The strike must not end on the basis of the Winant report.

Roosevelt wants to break the revolt like he did in steel and automobile.

Let labor answer with its best weapon—FIGHT!

Let the fight take the form of financial support—relief—and let labor tell Green to stop playing around with the lives of a half a million workers and back the strike not on a baptist pulpit but in action.

Then Roosevelt will join the whistling chorus led by George A Sloan and the strikers will march forward to victory.

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